

The Stela of *Hr-tzy s-nht* from Akhmim CG 22069

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Abstract: The Stela of *Hr-tzy s-nht* CG 22069, discovered in Akhmim and currently preserved in the Cairo Museum basement, is a clear Ptolemaic example of funerary stelae. Despite its bad state, it visibly illustrates the litany of Re englobed in Chapter 15 of the Book of the Dead and its vignette. Yet, some other chapters of the Book of the Dead, the Book of Breathing, and the Book of Traversing are interwoven together. Indeed, the daily solar cycle is strongly manifested in the text, beside the Heliopolitan dogma, presented in the names of the mentioned gods. The stela presents the Akhmimic local features of linking some gods, such as Osiris, Isis, Horus, and Rehorakhty, to the region, as well as showing aspects of the cult of the local god Min and his festival. The name and the titles of the owner are explicitly expressed in more than one line, showing her relationship with the local cult. It encompasses some old funerary motifs, such as the appearance of the sun god, following the god's parade along with some old grammatical structures, such as the vocative and prepositional adverb clause.

Key words: Akhmim - Ptolemaic - Book of the Dead chapter15 - sun god.

لوحة حور تاييس نخت من أخميم CG 22069

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الملخص: تعد لوحة حور تاييس نخت رقم ٢٢٠٦٩ المكتشفة في أخميم، ومحفوطة حالياً في مخزن متحف القاهرة، نموذجاً واضحاً للوحات البطلمية الجنائزية. بالرغم من حالتها السيئة فإنها تعرض بوضوح إبتهالات رع المتضمنة في الفصل الـ ١٥ من كتاب الموتى والصور المصاحبة له. بالإضافة إلى ذلك فإنها تشتمل على بعض الفصول الأخرى من كتاب الموتى، متداخلة مع كتاب التنفس وكتاب العبور. كما تظهر عقيدة هليوبوليس متمثلة في الآلهة المذكور أسماءهم. وتوضح اللوحة بعض المظاهر المحلية المرتبطة بأخميم مثل ربط بعض الآلهة مثل أوزوريس، إيزيس، حورس ورع حور أختي بالمنطقة، بعقيدة إلهها المحلي مين وباحتفلاته. ويظهر اسم صاحبة اللوحة وألقابها بجلاء على اللوحة في أكثر من سطر موضحة علاقتها بالديانة المحلية. تشتمل اللوحة على بعض المواضيع الجنائزية القديمة مثل ظهور إله الشمس، إتباع موكب الإله وبعض التراكيب الإنشائية القديمة مثل المنادى وشبه الجملة الظرفية.

الكلمات الدالة: أخميم - بطلمي - الفصل الـ ١٥ من كتاب الموتى - إله الشمس.

Introduction:

This article is an analytical study of the round-topped stela of the musician of Min *Hr-tȝy.s-nḥt* (CG 22069), stored in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. It was published by Ahmed Kamal Pasha in his catalogue¹ among a great array of Ptolemaic Akhmimic stelae. These stelae constitute a considerable source of socio-religious information of this period, elucidating the beliefs and life of the Akhmimic community. However, a great number of them are less investigated or represent an individual case. The study of this stela in particular is quite uneasy, since it was never profoundly studied. Moreover, Ahmed Kamal's transcriptions involve some errors. Its reliefs are poorly executed, and the inscribed sentences are frequently abbreviated. Very little information is given about the owner and her family. So, this article presents a new transcription and translation of the text and analyses of the themes and overall composition. It depends on some parallel texts of either Ptolemaic or earlier periods to understand some unclear aspects to complete the meaning of some rubrics. It verifies whether it bears the common regional traits or constitutes a unique case. Therefore, some new aspects of the beliefs and life of the Akhmimic community could be revealed.

Inventory no: CG 22069, JE 27068.

Material: Limestone.

Period : Ptolemaic.

Provenance : Akhmim.²

Dimensions : h. 76cm x w. 42cm.

Description :

The stela CG 22069 is round-topped Fig.1a,b, c, in a bad state of preservation.³ There are large fractures at its round top and lower corners. The edges of each side are somehow chipped. Both its scenes and inscriptions are poorly executed in incised relief on a rough, unpolished surface. This stela is divided into three main sections: the lunette, a horizontal register, and 17 and a half lines of hieroglyphic inscriptions. The lunette is separated from the

register by the  *pt* sign, whereas the whole hieroglyphic text, occupying the rest of the stela is framed by a fine line. Each line is separated by a fine incised line. The signs are non-uniform, having variable sizes throughout the stela; they are obviously crowded in some parts. The left margin is wider than the right. Line 6 is interrupted with an oblique sign

¹ Ahmed Kamal, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire n^{os} 22001-22208 stèles Ptolémaïques et Romaines*, Tome Premier (Le Caire : Imprimerie De l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1905), 62-63.

² Kuhlmann classifies it among the stelae found in El Hawawish necropolis A, see Klaus Kuhlmann, *Materialien zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Raumes von Akhmim* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp Von Zabern, 1983), 62-63.

³ Ahmed Kamal, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire n^{os} 22001-22208 stèles Ptolémaïques et Romaines*, Tome II (Le Caire: Imprimerie De l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1904), pl. XXI.

including the  *nwt* sign. This feature characterizes some Akhmimic stelae,¹ such as CG 22057.²

The Lunette:

The upper edge of the lunette is partly destroyed. It is topped by the winged sun disc (Horus of Behdet). Its wings run along the edge, fitting with the upper curve. The sign  is below and is flanked by two symmetric recumbent jackal figures, which symbolize the god Anubis as resting on a plain *pt* sign. Its projecting corners are roughly engraved; the right one is barely carved, whereas an extra line extends from the left. The edges of the *pt* sign slightly exceed the tips of the corners of the wings of Horus of Behdet.

The Register:

The register is separated from the lunette by the *pt* sign. Like some Akhmimic stelae, the scene is obviously void of the accompanying inscriptions.³ However, the figures are recognizable. It is decorated with two barks facing each other. The right hand one is boarded with God Atum, standing under a baldachin, in front of Gods Shu and Tefnut. Whereas the left-hand bark is boarded with God Re under a baldachin, in front of Gods Maat and Horus. Below the whole scene is another *pt* sign constituting the ground line. It is engraved asymmetrically, since its right part is wider than the left. Its right corner is connected with the right margin line, while its left illustrates no traces of the corner.

The Text:

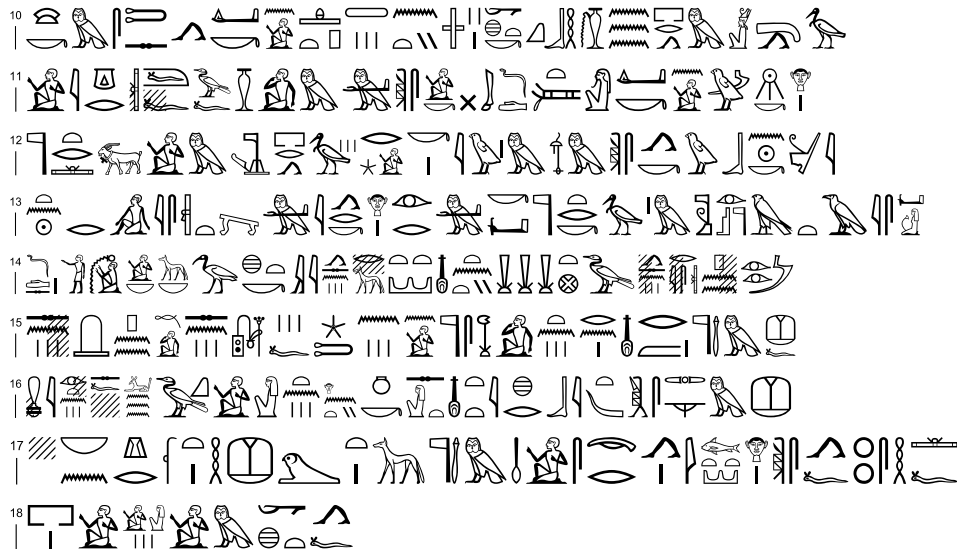
The text is composed of 17 and half lines of inscriptions, running from right to left.



¹ Marion Claude and Christophe Thiers, “La stèle funéraire d’Harsiésis, fils de Téos, originaire d’Akhmîm (Karnak Gadaya R-102 + Caire CG 22128),” in *CENiM 34, A Wise Man from the Beloved Land Recueil de textes offerts à Aly O. Abdalla par ses collègues, amis et étudiants*, ed. Mounir Habachy and Frédéric Servajean (Montpellier: Université Paul-Valéry Montpellier 3, 2023), 45- 46.

² Ahmed Kamal, *Catalogue Général*, Tome Premier, 56.

³ CG 22012, 22005; see Ahmed Kamal, *Catalogue Général*, Tome Premier, 6, 13.



Line	Transliteration	Translation
1-	<i>ḥtp dj nsw n Wsjr- Ḥnty jmntt nṯr ʿ3 nb ȝbdw Skr- Wsjr ḥr jb jpw Pth- SkrWsjr</i>	A boon that the king gives to Osiris Khenty Imenty the great god lord of Abydos Ptah Soker Osir in the middle lit. heart of Akhmim Ptah Soker Osir
2-	<i>ḥrj jb štz krs.t Rḥrȝhty nb tȝ.wy Jwn.t Ḥr nḏ jt <ɛ f> n Jst wr.t mw.t nṯr ḥr(j) jb jpw nṯrw.t nṯr.w (m) tȝ</i>	in the middle of the hidden burial, Rehorakhty ¹ lord of the two lands of Heliopolis. Horus the avenger of his father and of Isis the great mother of the god in the center of Akhmim, the goddesses and the gods in the earth ²
3-	<i>ḥnty(.w) jpw djȝ sn m pr.t ḥr.w kȝ.w ȝpd mrḥ.t mnḥ.t snṯr wḥb jrp jrt.t ḥtp.w dfȝ.w tȝ.w</i>	who are in Akhmim, may they give of the offerings bulls, bird, unguent, clothes, pure incense, wine, milk, offerings, (of) birds and bread.
4-	<i>ḥ.t nb.t nfr.t wḥb.t bnr.t rdj.t <n>ɛ s m ȝḥ.t ḥtp.t m pt ḥr Rḥ wsr m tȝ ḥr Gb</i>	all good, pure and sweet things that are given to her as a good offering in the sky by Re, strong in earth by Geb.

¹ Kamal has transcribed this name as , see Ahmed Kamal, *Catalogue Général*, Tome Premier, 63.

² Ahmed Kamal miscopied the term *tȝ* as . The gods of Akhmim settle in earth according to the Ptolemaic stela CG 22142; see Ali Abdel Halim, “The Stela of Nes-Hor from Akhmim CG 22142,” *Shedet6* (2019): 22, 26.

5-	<i>sh3 nfr n hḥ nn skt hr dt pr ʕ k m hrt- ntr jmntt nn šnʕ s</i>	Will be remembered forever, will not perish eternally, <when she>enters and gets out of the necropolis, she ¹ will not be obstructed
6-	<i>hrj sb3w nw njw.t djʕ sn n pr t3.w ndm mḥy t3.w pr m Tm n k3 n Wsjr jhy.t n</i>	at the doors of the city, may they give the northern sweet air, air that comes from Atum ² to the ka of Osiris the musician
7-	<i>Mnw Hrt3yʕ s- nḥt m3ʕhr.w s3.t n jmj-r nt ḥsy.w n Mnw Hr m3ʕhr.w ms <n> nb(.t) pr Nʕjs</i>	of Min Hertayes-nakht justified, daughter of the overseer of the singers of Min the justified, born of the lady of the house Nays
8-	<i>m3ʕhrw ddʕ s j Rʕ m t3.wy³ mʕ m3w.tʕ k hr shd nʕ k kkw hrʕ j</i>	the justified, she says “O Re in the two lands through your brightness, the darkness is lit for/ above me.
9-	<i>wbnʕ k shdʕ k <t3wy⁴> n ʕ wjʕʕ k <dsrʕ k pt m msktt skdʕ k mʕndt> šspʕ j m m33w.tʕ k m-m dtʕ k ntr <m3.w⁵> ḥtʕ j m <dg3 nfr.wʕ k> tn</i>	When you rise, you light (the two lands) at entering your bark,<row in the sky in the day bark and sail in the night bark ⁶ > I become bright through your rays from your divine body, my body <is new from the sight of your beauty ⁷ >every time

¹ In a parallel text *tn šnʕb3ʕ s* CG 22047.

² Kamal added ² to the sign. This sentence is identical to a parallel text of sarcophagus CG 29301; see Gaston Maspero, *Catalogue Général Des Antiquités Égyptiennes Du Musée Du Caire N^{os} 29301- 29303 Sarcophages Des Époques Persane et Ptolémaïque*, Tome Premier (Leipzig : Karl W. Hiersemann, 1908),9.

³  is barely seen in the inscription. One could also read it as  Rʕhrʕhty.

⁴ This part is added according to the Book of the Dead papyrus of Nakhtamun; see Stephen Quirke, *Going out in Daylight- prt m hrw: the Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead- translation, sources, meanings* (GHP Egyptology) (London: Golden House publications, 2013), 39.

⁵ These added parts are presented in the papyrus of Nespasef., see Quirke, *Going out in Daylight- prt m hrw*, 46.

⁶ This is according to a parallel text of CG 22054.

⁷ This section is inscribed twice in the Ptolemaic version of the Book of the Dead, chapter 15; see Richard Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen papyrus in Turin* (Leipzig: Wigand, 1842), IV line 7, V line 15.

10-	<i>ḥꜥ k m-sts¹ djꜥ k nꜥ j ḥtp tȝ.w (H)nty jmntyw ḥ.tꜥ k ḳbh pr m Tm jj <m> bȝ</i>	you rise, walking around, you give me offerings of bread of Khenty Imenty your offering is pure, coming from Atum, I come as an excellent ba
11-	<i>jḳr prꜥ f ꜥꜥꜥ f ḥsy² m <ḥr.t nṯr³> m šms n Wsjr <ḥtp m šb.w Wnnfr> dd Tm djꜥ k nꜥ j mȝw.tꜥ k ḥrj</i>	that gets out and enters praised in <the necropolis> as a follower of Osiris< receives the nutrition of Osiris Wennefer ⁴ >”, Wennefer ⁴ >”, Atum says “give to me your rays, (which are) upon
12-	<i>sꜥḥ(. w) nṯr m ḥrt nṯr pr bȝ.w r dwȝꜥ k jwꜥ j m ḥm šmsꜥ k wbnꜥ k m</i>	the image/ statue of the god in the necropolis, so the baw get out to adore you. I am as a servant that follows you when you rise as
13-	<i>Jtn⁵ ḥms <ḥr> js.t mj rꜥ k ḥr Wsjr mk tw n jrꜥ k bȝ m ḥr.t nṯr Wsjr Hr-tȝȝ s- nḥt</i>	Iten to settle<in> the tomb/chapel, ⁶ come to Osiris, behold you are a ba in the necropolis, Osiris Hertayes-nakht”
14-	<i>ddꜥ s j wꜥb.w nb.w ḥry.w- štȝ <rḥ.w⁷> ḥ.t nb jjꜥ sn r ḥrj -stȝ jmnt.t nfr.t nty šns.w ꜥꜥꜥ sn r jswy pn n mȝȝꜥ sn</i>	she says, O all pure ones lords of the mystery, who know everything, who come to the beautiful western mystery of Shenw, when they enter to this place/ to the temple, they see
15-	<i>ḥꜥ pn n mḥꜥ sn sšwꜥ f dwȝꜥ tn nꜥ j n shȝꜥ tn rnꜥ j</i>	this stela they protect its inscriptions, may you adore me

¹ Penelop Wilson gives two possible interpretations to m- *sts* either as flying with the wings or holding the sky *pt*; see Penelop Wilson, *A Lexicographical Study of the Ptolemaic Texts in the Temple of Edfu* (Leuven: Peeters publishers, 1997), 971- 972.

² Late Period version: *wn m šmsw n Wsjr ḥtp m šbw Wnnfr*. See Hermann Grapow, *Religiöse Urkunden*, vol. V (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich'ssche Buchhandlung, 1915-17), 5.

³ After CG 22127.

⁴ Added according to a Ptolemaic version of the Book of the Dead of Iufankh. See Richard Lepsius, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypternach dem hieroglyphischen papyrus in Turin*, VII.

⁵ It could also be read as *wbnꜥ k mj Jtn*.

⁶ For the different meanings see Penelop Wilson, *A Lexicographical Study of the Ptolemaic Texts in the Temple of Edfu* (Leuven: Peeters publishers, 1997), 109; H.E. Winlock “Tombs of Kings of Seventeenth Dynasty at Thebes,” *JEA* 10 (1924): 230- 240.

⁷ According to parallel in CG 22077, 22151.

	<i>nfr gs ntr ʕ m ḥbꜥ f</i>	and remember my beautiful name beside the great god in his feast,
16-	<i>mj jrꜥ tn sfh¹ <wj² m> nšy ʕ rmꜥ.w tn ḥr-ntt jnk st nfr.t j <wꜥ j> ḥr bj.t šms ḥb Mjn</i>	as you released (me in) Neshy, these people ³ will enter <to> you because I am a good woman who is, with the character of the follower of the festival of Min.
17-	<i>[...]⁴ nb(.t) n ḥrj ḥb.t šnbty sꜣb <šw.t> ntr ʕ mꜣḥrw spr jmnt.t ḥrj šms(.w)ꜥ f mꜣꜣꜣ s ḥmꜥ f</i>	I [am] mistress of the lector priests of Shenbety sab the great god justified, who approaches the west among his followers, she sees his majesty.
18-	<i>prꜥ j <ḥnꜥ> ḥm.wꜥ j⁵ m ḥ.tꜥ f⁶</i>	I get out with my servants to follow him.”

General Commentary

The stela most probably dates to the Late Pharaonic or Ptolemaic periods. The names of the owner of the stela and her family were frequently inscribed in the Ptolemaic period.⁷ Furthermore, Munro classifies this stela as Group II C according to its style, dating to about the 3rd century BC.⁸

The scenes

The lunette is topped by a figure of the winged sun disc Horus of Behdet, a symbol of protection fig. 1a, 1b, 1c.⁹ According to Westendorf,¹⁰ its location above the sky, where the

¹ Unfortunately, half the word is destroyed but it might be also  *sfꜣ* “proceed,” see Raymond O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: The Griffith Institute at the University Press, 1972) 225.

² According to a Ptolemaic parallel, see Holger Kockelmann, *Untersuchungen zu den späten Totenbuch-Handschriften auf Mumienbinden, Die Mumienbinden und Leinenamulette des memphitischen Priesters Hor*, Band I.1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008), 124.

³ In the Old kingdom, the pure people were the only permitted to enter the west. See Alexander Badawy, *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of Ankhmahor at Saqqara* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1978), 14.

⁴ This phrase must be initiated by the independent pronoun *jnk*. See Alexander Badawy, *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of Ankhmahor at Saqqara* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1978), 14.

⁵ Ahmed Kamal has transcribed  instead of   

⁶ The composite preposition *m- ḥtꜥ f* was employed since the Old Kingdom PT 25, 310. Yet it was frequently implemented in the temple of Dendera; see Penelop Wilson, *A Lexicographical Study of the Ptolemaic Texts in the Temple of Edfu* (Leuven: Peeters publishers, 1997), 755.

⁷ Hermann Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, Band I (Glückstadt: Verlag von J.J. Augustin, 1935), 251. The name of her father is inscribed on CG 22134, see Mohammed A. Elsayed, “A Ptolemaic Stela of Hor in the Egyptian Museum Cairo,” *Bulletin of the Center for the Papyrological Studies and Inscriptions* 1, 36 (2019): 318.

⁸ Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen* (Glückstadt: Verlag J.J. Augustin, 1973), 318, 352, 369.

⁹ Winfried Barta, “Horus von Edfu,” *LÄ* III (1980): 34.

¹⁰ Wolfhart Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn* (Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling, 1966), 24- 25, Abb. 25.

solar bark passes, indicates its role in overcoming the eventual chaos as well as lighting the dark side of the sky. The depiction of two recumbent figures of God Anubis, flanking a cup and water waves, is a frequent trait of the Ptolemaic stelae.¹ It is a possible allusion to his protecting role of the deceased's corpse from putrefaction and mummifying it in the shrine.² So, one could assume that the whole composition alludes to the embalming process.

The second register is bordered at the top and the bottom by two sky figures. Both allude to the afterlife solar cycle, denoting the entrance and the exit where the sun god passes. The solar barks, occupying the second register, most probably represent the barks of the day and of the night. The right-hand god is Atum with his double crown,³ symbolizing the sunset during the nocturnal voyage at the west, whereas the left-hand one is a heracocephal, probably incarnating Re in the form of Rehorakhty,⁴ symbolizing the rising sun at the east.⁵ Although this motif is almost common on the Ptolemaic stelae,⁶ the standing figure of the sun god in a baldachin resembles the god's bark in the Amduat.⁷ Unlike Akhmimic stelae, it encompasses neither a sun disk nor a deceased figure. Yet, it represents with no doubt, chapter 15 of the Dead.⁸ This composition denotes the solar afterlife cycle depicted since the New Kingdom.⁹

Represented themes

The stela englobes various themes:

1- *The offering formula:*

The  *hṯp dj nswt* follows the classical order of signs *sw dj hṯp* that was adopted since the Old and Middle kingdoms.¹⁰ In contrast, the offered items constituted a common

¹ See Ahmad Kamal, *Catalogue Général*, Tome Premier, 34, 36, 51, CG. 22036, 22038, 22054.

² Alexander Badawy, "La stèle funéraire sous l'Ancien Empire Son Origine et Son Fonctionnement," *ASAE* 48 (1948) :222-223.

³ This form is presented in CG 22141 and the tomb of Tjaynefer; see Karol Mysliwec, *Studien zum Gott Atum*, Band II (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg Verlag, 1979), 215; Keith C. Seele, *The Tomb of Tjanefer at Thebes* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1959), pl. 25.

⁴ Quaegebeur, "Une Stele Ptolemaïque d'Akhmim," *GM* 112 (1989) :44.

⁵ Wolfhart Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn*, 16, 18, 88.

⁶ CG. 2216, 22017, 20062, 22158, 22070, 22071, 22146.

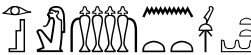
⁷ It is usually figured in the central register of the Amduat. See Eric Hornung, *Amduat The Book of the Hidden Chamber* (Zurich: Living Human Heritage Publications, 2007), 24.

⁸ T. George Allen, "Some Egyptian Sun Hymns," *JNES* 8 (1949): 349.

⁹ Elizabeth Thomas, "Solar Barks Prow to Prow," *JEA* 42 (1956): 75- 79.

¹⁰ Winfried Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel* (Glückstadt: verlag J.J. Augustin, 1968), 91. This arrangement was also adopted in the 18th dynasty; see M. Maspero, *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission Archéologique française au Caire*, Tome I (Paris: Librairie De La Société Asiatique, De L'école Des Langues Orientales Vivantes, De L'école Du Louvre, 1889), 370.

factor since the 27th and 30th dynasties.¹ All these characteristics became notably common on the Akhmimic stelae.² The formula is relatively long, occupying a large section of the stela lines (1-7).³ The offering formula compiles various gods who receive offerings as:

a) God  Osiris- Khenty Imenty: This form unites both Osiris and Khenty Imenty together. He is figured in offering formulae since the Old Kingdom.⁴ Although this composite form is a common trait of the Akhmimic stelae, the paleography of the name  *Wsjr- Hntj jmnty* on the studied stela has no parallel as far as I know; Leitz never stated it in his lexicon of gods.⁵ In contrast,  *Skr- Wsjr* is a common protagonist, embodying Osiris on the Akhmimic stelae.⁶

b) God Horus is identified as  *Hr nḏ jt <ε f> n Jst wr.t mw.t ntr*, “Horus the avenger of his father and of Isis the great, mother of gods”. Indeed, the second part of this epithet is likely an abbreviated form of *Hr nḏ jt <ε f> snḏm jb n Jst wr.t mw.t ntr*, “Horus the avenger of his father, who sweetens the heart of Isis the great, mother of the god, “that was usually inscribed on the Akhmimic stelae like CG 22007 and 22025.⁷ According to Claude, this aspect is sometimes complemented with the title *ε m Jpw* “the great in Ipw” or *wr nḏt jt ε f* “Horus the great, strengthens his father.” So, he designates the cycle of the god from his childhood to adulthood as a strong avenger of his father against Seth.⁸ Indeed, linking this group of gods together with Akhmim is not strange. According to Scharff⁹ the Osirian Family is intermingled with the Akhmimic Min family. God Min, who is normally identified as the lord of Akhmim in the heart of *Jpw*, could replace Osiris; furthermore the son of Min is identified with the born child Horus.

c) Gods Ptah Soker Osir, Isis and gods in general are particularly linked to *Jpw*.¹⁰ This is an obvious Akhmimic trait, that is also bestowed on the round topped stela of Petosiris. The

¹ Winfried Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, 212.

² Abdelrahman A. Abdelrahman, “The Stela of Lady *Tz-rp(yt)* in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo,” *Aula Orientalis* 39/2 (2021): 162.

³ It reaches five lines on the stela of Petosiris. Yehia El Masry, “The Ptolemaic Cemetery of Akhmim,” *OLA* 194, *Honi soit qui mal y pense : Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*, ed. Hermann Knuf, Christian Leitz und Daniel von Recklinghausen (Leuven ; Paris ; Walpole: Peeters, 2010), 178.

⁴ P.A. A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung des niederlandischenreichs museums der altertumer altertumer in leiden Die Denkmaler Des Alten Reiches*, vol. II (Haag: Martinus Nijhoff, 1908), Tf. VII. However, Khenty Imenty, the earlier version of Osiris himself, is linked alone since the Old Kingdom with the city of Abydos on sarcophagus CG 28019.

⁵ Christian Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, vol. II (Louvain: Peters, 2002), 557; 2002), 557; Christian Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter*, vol. V, 783.

⁶ CG 22006, 22007, 22011; see Christian Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, vol. VI (Louvain: Peters, 2002), 667.

⁷ Kamal, *Catalogue Général*, Tome Premier, 8, 26.

⁸ Marion Claude, *Akhmim et la 9e Province de Haute Égypte Étude de géographie religieuse* (Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz Verlag, 2024), 239- 242.

⁹ A. Scharff, “Ein Denkstein der römischen Kaiserzeit aus Akhmim,” *ZÄS* 62 (1927) : 88, 92.

¹⁰ This paleography was known from the Old Kingdom to the Late period on private monuments, see Marion Claude, *Akhmim et la 9e Province de Haute Égypte*, 127.

relation with the place is expressed with the preposition  *hrj- jb* “who is in the middle of *Jpw*.”¹ According to Gauthier, this name is a variant of the whole city of Akhmim. Yet, Claude assumes that it denotes only the religious center of the city where temples were built.²

d) Rehorakhty is distinctively followed by  *Jwn.t*. According to Gauthier, this place is the city of Qift at the eastern bank of the Nile, separated from Akhmim by the river Nile. So, both locations are correlated.³

The motif of receiving food from the earth and the sky in line 4 is a standard element in the offering formula since the 27th and 30th dynasties.⁴ In contrast, the prevention of obstruction at the gates of the horizon in line 5 was frequently inscribed on Ptolemaic stelae.⁵ This motif was featured in the solar litany since the New Kingdom.⁶ It is usually achieved by *pr ʕ m hrt- ntr jmntt* “getting out and entering in the necropolis.”⁷

2- Afterlife religious texts:

This stela features a hybrid corpus of afterlife texts:⁸

a) Chapter 15 of the Book of the Dead is the key spell, occupying this stela. It constitutes a litany of the sun god.⁹ Different sections of this spell are expressed through the vocative with *ḥj*,¹⁰ alluding to the dialogue between the deceased- Re or Atum- the deceased.

The deceased incarnates the sun god in line 13, when Atum addresses her as *Iten*, unlike the other Akhmimic versions that assimilate the deceased to Rehorakhty.¹¹ He uniquely settles on the chapel rather than rising in the horizon. This form is correlated to giving rays, being

¹ Yehia El Masry, “The Ptolemaic Cemetery of Akhmim,” OLA 194, *Honi soit qui mal y pense : studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*, ed. Hermann Knuf, Christian Leitz und Daniel von Recklinghausen (Leuven ; Paris ; Walpole: Peeters, 2010), 178.

² Claude, *Akhmim et la 9e Province de Haute Égypte*, 140.

³ H. Gauthier, “Notes géographiques sur le nome Panopolite,” *BIFAO* 4 (1905) :43.

⁴ Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, 205, 213.

⁵ It also appeared on CG 22151; see Kamal, *Catalogue Général*, Tome Premier, 63, 139.

⁶ The Epigraphic Survey in cooperation with the Department of Antiquities of Egypt, *The Tomb of Kheruef, Theban Tomb 192* (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1980), 71. It was also adopted in the 20th dynasty funerary stela of Aniba. See Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, 168, 218; George Steindorff, *Aniba*, Band II (Gluckstadt-Hamburg-New York: J. J. Augustin, 1937), 66.

⁷ This motif was englobed in the offering formula of the 26th dynasty; see Winfried Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, 199.

⁸ This feature is prominent in the Ptolemaic funerary papyri; see Florence Albert, “The Last Books of the Dead,” in R. Lucarelli, in *The Oxford Handbook of The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, ed. Rita Lucarelli and Martin A. Staedler (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 144.

⁹ Quirke, *The Book of coming out by day prt m hrw the Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead translation, sources, meanings* (London: Golden House Publications, 2013), 33.

¹⁰ See Mohammed A. Elsayed, “A Ptolemaic Stela of Hor in the Egyptian Museum Cairo,” 318.

¹¹ CG 22185.

adored, being followed and rising. This motif is possibly inspired by the earlier 19th dynasty and Saitic versions.¹

Similar to the other Ptolemaic versions,² the sun god himself is manifested through his actions of lighting, clearing the darkness, and reviving the body. Yet, compiling these attributes together is exclusive in the studied version. This line is a probable implicit allusion to the parade of the figure of the god Min during his festival. In this instance, Min is assimilated to the sun god who  *wbn* “rises.”³

Line 6 is extracted from BD. 15g, the Akhmimic version which deals mainly with the idea of receiving sweet air. It is likely copied from a Saitic version that appeared according to Mosher, on P. Louvre N3087, P. BM. 10088, BM. 10086 and P. Cairo J.E. 97249.⁴

b) The motif of the rising sun god in his bark in line 9⁵ constitutes an authentic part of the litany of Re in the Theban Late Period tombs.⁶ It is repeatedly illustrated on Akhmimic stelae;⁷ however, it is so close to an 18th dynasty version of spell 136.⁸ The last part of the rubric is possibly extracted from spell 101, alluding to the impact of the sun god's appearance in the bark on the deceased's Osirian body.⁹ So, the deceased will be revived.¹⁰ This might

¹ This theme is a continuation of 19th papyri of Qenena and Herunefer and the Saitic version of Chicago. OIM 6898, see Quirke, *The Book of coming out by day*, 34, 37; T. George Allen, “Some Egyptian Sun hymns,” 351.

² Turin Papyrus; see Lepsius, *Das todenbuch der Ägypter*, V, line 18.

³ H. Gauthier, *Les Fêtes du dieu Min*, Tome II (Le Caire : Imprimerie De L'Institut Français D'Archeologie Oriental, 1931), 183.

⁴ Malcom Mosher, *The Papyrus of Hor (BM EA 10479) with Papyrus MacGregor: The Late Period Tradition at at Akhmim. (Catalogue of the Books of the Dead in the British Museum, Volume II)* (London: British Museum Press, 2001), 72, 73, 79, 82. The text in concern is quite special lacking the introductory speech of gods “hail you;” It is observed that the topics englobed on this stela are probably copied from a model, selected according to the deceased's preference. Since they are repeatedly inscribed on different monuments. See Florence Albert, “The Book of the Dead in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods,” in *The Oxford Handbook of The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, ed. Rita Lucarelli and Martin A. Staedler (Oxford: Oxford University press, 2023), 144.

⁵ This rubric is a part of Chapter 15 on the stela.

⁶ J. Assmann, “Zwei Sonnehymnen der Späten XVIII. Dynastie in Thebanischen Gräbern der Saitenzeit,” *MDAIK* 27 (1971): 4-6

⁷ Ahmed Kamal, *Catalogue Général*, Tome Premier, 52, 136, CG 22054, 22149. The deceased is transformed into a lighting body in the Book of the Dead spell 83.

⁸ *n ḥz f snḏ n s nšny wjz n(y) R^c wḥ t(n)*, Gunter Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu (BM EA 10477), Catalogue of Books of the Dead in the British Museum I* (London: British Museum press, 1997), pl. 81; Claude Carrier, *Série des Papyrus du Livre des Morts de L'Égypte ancienne Vol I : Le Papyrus De Nouou (BMEA 10477)* (Paris : Cybele, 2010), 469.

⁹ *kz.k swḏz k Wsjr*, see Quirke, Stephen Quirke, *Going out in Daylight*, 226; Gunter Lapp, Gunter Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu*, pl. 78.

¹⁰ Andrea Kucharek, “The Book of the Dead in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods,” in *The Oxford Handbook of The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, ed. Rita Lucarelli and Martin A. Staedler (Oxford: Oxford University press, 2023), 304; Budge, Wallis, *The Book of The Dead The Chapters of Coming Forth By Day The Egyptian Text According To The Theban Recension In Hieroglyphic Edited From Numerous Papyri, With A Translation, Vocabulary, ETC* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., LTD, 1898), 305.

allude to the sun god's role as a creator of all creatures and the world as soon as he lights the night.¹ The lexicography related to the god's action in this text is quite special. The sun god's action is uniquely defined by the verb  *ḳ* "enter,"² in contrast to the employed verbs *dȝj pt*, *skdd*, *wȝz*, and *dsr* in various versions of the litany of Re.³

c) The theme of spreading  *mȝw.t* "rays, brightness"⁴ stems from the Old Kingdom *pyr.* 407d.⁵ It signals the implemented sun god's light- power in resurrecting Osiris.⁶

d) In line 11, a Ptolemaic version of spell 17 of the Book of the Dead P. Turin 1791, the Ptolemaic Book of Breathing and the Book of Traversing are interlaced. It is a vivid example of Ptolemaic funerary texts. Spell 17 confirms that following Osiris is a principal condition for being privileged or receiving food.⁷ The Book of Breathing P. BM EA 10191, P. BM EA 10303 shows the mechanism of following by  *pr* and *ḳ*.⁸ This motif denotes the easy movement through the afterlife sky or the birth from goddess Nut.⁹

The condition of being integrated among the followers of Osiris is the deceased's transformation into a  *bȝ jkr*. This rubric is double folded it reflects the deceased's wish to preserve his body from decomposition and destruction, so it guarantees his integration in the afterlife milieu.¹⁰ Moreover, it is most likely copied from the Book of Traversing Eternity P. Leiden T 32, affirming the deceased's ability to pass through afterlife places as a consequence of the transformation.¹¹ This theme appears occasionally on Akhmimic stelae, linked to the adoration of Osiris in the afterlife.¹² This expression, *bȝ jkr*,

¹ Quirke, *Going out in Daylight*, 37; Kamal, *Catalogue Général*, Tome Premier, 77; Eric Hornung, "Nacht und Finsternis in Weltbild Der Alten Ägypter," (PhD diss, Hohen Philosophischen Fakultät der Eberhard=Karla=Universität zu Tübingen, 1956) 47, 48, 49, 50, 54.

² Wb 1, 230.3-232.9.

³ 19th dynasty Theban tomb n° 373, see Jan Assmann, "Zwei Sonnhymnen," 12; A. Kamal, *Catalogue Général*, Tome Premier, 52.

⁴ Penelop Wilson, *A Lexicographical Study of the Ptolemaic Texts in the Temple of Edfu* (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 1997), 424, 11.

⁵ Samuel Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts in Translation and Commentary*, vol. II (New York, London, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co, 1952), 189.

⁶ J. C. Goyon, "Le cérémonial de glorification d'Osiris du papyrus du Louvre I. 3079 (colonnes 110 à 112)," *BIFAO* 65 (1967) : 144.

⁷ *Wsjr ḥtp m šb.w wnnfr*, see Andrea Kucharek, "The Book of the Dead in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods," in Periods," in R. Lucarelli, in *The Oxford Handbook of The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, ed. Rita Lucarelli and Martin A. Stadler (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023), 303; Lepsius, *Das todenbuch der Ägypter*, VII.

⁸ According to a similar motif in the Book of Breathing, see François R. Herbin, *The Books of Breathing and Related Texts* (Cambridge: The British Museum Press, 2008), 77.

⁹ Jan Assmann, "Nieth Spricht als Mutter und Sarg," *MDAIK* 28 (1973): 119.

¹⁰ Andrea Kucharek, "The Book of the Dead in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods, in R. Lucarelli, Oxford," 2023, 304.

¹¹ Mark Smith, *Traversing Eternity Texts for the Afterlife from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 399, 405.

¹² Quaegebeur, "Une Stele Ptolemaïque d'Akhmim," *GM* 112 (1989) :49.

encompasses acquired power. It is composed of two parts: *bs* “soul,”¹ that has the potential to wander in the afterlife.² *ḥkr* is “trustworthy”³ or “excellent.”⁴ Yet, Abdelhalim interprets it as “beneficent ba-soul.”⁵

e) It is quite noted that the presence of both chapters 15 and 17 together on the stela is a Ptolemaic characteristic of the Book of the Dead papyri, inherited from both Late Period papyri of Papyrus Bibliotheca Bodmeriana 104⁶ and Pasenedjemibnakht (Louvre E11078).⁷ The hierarchy of the spells of the stela in question is close to the version of Bibliotheca Bodmeriana 104, although some spells are skipped. The scribe intended to retain the order of the spells 15, 17 and 101.⁸

f) The first section of line 13 is extracted from the Litany of Re. Yet, this version typically illustrates the rising of the sun god above the palace or tomb *Js.t* rather than the throne and the steps in the other versions of Chester Beatty VIII.⁹

g) The discourse, signaled by *dd s* before the invocation of Re, is an adoption of a Third Intermediate tradition.¹⁰ Furthermore, the god’s communication with the deceased *dd tm* is a common feature of the divine decree.¹¹

h) Line 16 is possibly a Ptolemaic version of chapter 71 of the Book of the Dead.¹²  *nšyNeshy* is among the entered places. It is identified as the modern place El- Minsha, close

¹ See Raymond O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: The Griffith Institute at the University Press, 1972), 77.

² Louis V. Zabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), 134-135.

³ See Raymond O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 32.

⁴ Wb 1, 137.1-15.

⁵ Ali AbdelHalim, “A Lunette Stela of Pasenedjemibnash in Cairo Museum CG 22151,” *BIFAO* 114 (2015): 7.

⁶ Marc Coenen, “On the Demise of the Book of the Dead in Ptolemaic Thebes,” *RdE* 52 (2001): 73.

⁷ Silvia Einaudi, “Le papyrus de Pasenedjemibnakht (Louvre E 11078) : Un Livre des Morts de tradition Thébaine à Akhmîm,” in Cenim 13, *Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tardives (D3T 3)*, ed. Christophe Thiers (Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry (Montpellier III), 2015), 10-12.

⁸ Marc Coenen, “On the Demise of the Book of the Dead in Ptolemaic Thebes,” 72.

⁹ A. Gasse, “La litanie des douze noms de Rê-Horakhty,” *BIFAO* 84 (1984) : 204.

¹⁰ Pierre Montet, *La Nécropole Royale de Tanis, Les Constructions Et Le Tombeau De Psousennès A Tanis 2* (Paris : Typographie J. Dumoulin, 1951), 39. See Karl R. Winkeln, *Text und Sprache in Der 3 Zwischenzeit Vorarbeiten zu einer spät mittelägyptischen Grammatik* (Wiesbaden : Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994), 123, 398.

¹¹ Karl R. Winkeln, *Text und Sprache in Der 3 Zwischenzeit Vorarbeiten zu einer spätmittelägyptischen Grammatik*, 153.

¹² Holger Kockelmann, *Untersuchungen zu den späten Totenbuch- Handschriften auf Mumienbinden, Die Mumienbinden und Leinenamulette des memphitischen Priesters Hor*, Band I.1, 124; Lepsius, *Totenbuch*, XXVI.

to Akhmim.¹ Yet its written form is similar to *nšj* “be furious.”² According to Kockelmann, *nšn* is a verb employed as (*nšnwj*) parallel to *swdȝ* *kwj*.³

3-Festivals and funerary practices:

a) The motif of *mȝw.tȝ k ḥrj sḥ(. w) ntr* “your rays, (which are) upon the image/ statue of the god,” in line 12 is frequently illustrated on the Akhmimic stelae.⁴ The paleography of the expression  *sḥ ntr* in line 12 is apparently Old Egyptian⁵; nonetheless its meaning is evidently polysemic. According to Gauthier, they are the bands ornamenting the neck of the bull, symbolizing the god Min.⁶ However, they are probably the god’s dignitaries according to the inscriptions of Min’s festival.⁷

b) The deceased’s appeal to the  *wḥ.w* “pure ones” in line 14 is manifested on the Late Period Stelae⁸ and CG 22152.⁹ Their role of reading the text on the stela and adoring the deceased is figured in the older versions in the framework of their offering to the deceased duty.¹⁰ Their action is uniquely expressed on the studied stela by the verb  *mȝȝ* instead of *dgȝ*. They originally partook in the purification ritual in the god’s temple and were

¹ Marion Claude, *Akhmîm et la 9e Province de Haute Égypte*, 158, 160, 162.

² Wb 2, 340.11-30.

³ Holger Kockelmann, *Untersuchungen zu den späten Totenbuch- Handschriften auf Mumienbinden, Die Mumienbinden und Leinenamulette des memphitischen Priesters Hor*, Band I.1, 124.

⁴ The stela of Nesmin 31269, see T. George. Allen, *Egyptian Stelae in Field Museum of Natural History* (Chicago: Field Museum Press, 1936), 53.

⁵ See Wb 4, 50. 15. It is inscribed in the Ptolemaic Turin papyrus as , see Lepsius, *Toten Buch*, XLVIII, 39.

⁶ H. Gauthier, *Les Fêtes du dieu Min*, 85.

⁷ Faulkner translates it as nobles, dignitaries or the blessed dead. Raymond O. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 214. The Old Kingdom autobiography of Weni gives an early idea about this expression, distinguishing the deceased as the one at the head of the *sḥ(. w)* “noble ones.” See Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reiches*, vol. I (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1903), 99, 8.

⁸ Wolfgang Schenkel, “Die Gräber *Pȝ- tnf-j* und eines Unbekannten in der Thebanischen Nekropole (Nr. 128 und Nr. 129)” *MDAIK* 31 (1975): 136- 137; Klaus P. Kuhlmann, “Ein Beschreibung der Grabdekoration mit der Aufforderung zu Kopieren und zum Hinterlassen von Besucher inschriften aus saitischer Zeit,” *MDAIK* 29, 2 (1973): 206- 208. This motif became frequent on Akhmimic Ptolemaic stelae, such as CG 22151 and CG 22077. See Kamal, *Catalogue Général*, Tome Premier, 73, 139.

⁹ Kamal, *Catalogue Général*, Tome Premier, 140, 141; Ali Abdel Halim, “A Lunette Stela of Pasenedjemibnash in Cairo Museum CG 22151,” 8.

¹⁰ Wolfgang Schenkel, “Die Gräber *Pȝ- tnf-j* und eines Unbekannten in der Thebanischen Nekropole (Nr. 128 und Nr. 129),” 136- 137; Klaus P. Kuhlmann, “Ein Beschreibung der Grabdekoration mit der Aufforderung zu Kopieren und zum Hinterlassen von Besucherinschriften aus saitischer Zeit,” 206- 208. According to other sources, they are identified as certain clergy of the temple of Min in Coptos and Akhmim since the Old Kingdom Herman Junker, *Giza VI Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Giza Die Mastabas des Nefer nfr, Qdfy (Kedfi), Kȝhjf (KaHjef)* (Wien, Leipzig, Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1943), 13. This title is figured on the statue of Neferkare and Coptos decree, see Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reiches*, vol. I, 280, 283; the invocation to the wabw in the temple of Osiris in Abydos appeared on CG 20583, see Moharram Kamal, “The Stela of  in the Egyptian Museum,” *ASAE* 40 (1940): 222.

responsible for the performance¹ of the daily rituals.² The epithet *rh h.t* “those who know the the rituals”, is obviously coupled with the *w^cb.w* since the Middle Kingdom.³ Their funerary role is assured by going to *Jmn.t nfr.t nty šnw* “the beautiful west of Shenu.” Their movement to the place is indicated by the use of the preposition *r*. According to Gauthier⁴, taking the way to the necropolis and not going to the necropolis itself. In contrast, it is regarded by Claude⁵ as a reference to the necropolis of Akhmim.

c) The *w^cb.w* also holds the title *hrjw- štz*. According to Balanda, this refers to the official in charge of the king’s jewellery store,⁶ authorized to enter the *js.wy*. In fact, demanding this rank of priests to praise the deceased or make rituals for him is common in Akhmimic funerary texts on stelae and tombs’ walls.⁷

d) The  baw who get out to adore the shining figure of the sun god in line 12, probably takes part in the festival of Min as *bz.w jzbtj.w*, “the eastern baw.” Their role is to receive the god’s figure at his appearance.⁸ According to Claude, they designate the spirits of the mummified falcons, symbolizing Horus.⁹ Furthermore, the inscriptions of the temple of Edfu reveal their further role of “those who purify the god in the sanctuary.”¹⁰

e) The connotation of  *bj.t* or *bjz.t* in the studied text is puzzling. Indeed, this paleography in the Ptolemaic texts usually means “to be far from.”¹¹ The same paleography is translated by Gardiner in New Kingdom texts as “character.”¹² In contrast, the orthography of

¹ In Medinet Habu scenes, two priests with shaved heads advanced the procession; see H. Gauthier, *Les Fêtes du dieu Min*, 103, 104, 106, 212; John A. Wilson and Thomas G. Allen, *Medinet Habu Festival Scenes of Ramesses III*, vol. IV (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1940), pl.206.

² According to Gauthier, this category constituted the highest of the clergy of Min; see H. Gauthier, *Le Personnel du dieu Min* (Le Caire: Imprimerie de L’Institut Français D’Archéologie Orientale, 1930), 10- 12.

³ Yet this title was conventionally inscribed on Middle Kingdom stelae alluding to the knowledge of the different sacerdotal duties, such as leading divine and funerary processions as well as making offerings. See Raymond O. Faulkner, “The Stela of Rudj’ahau,” *JEA* 37 (1951) : 48-49 ; Ramadan El- Sayed, *Documents Relatifs À Saïs et ses Divinités* (Le Caire, Bibl D’éd LXIX, 1975), 235.

⁴ H. Gauthier, “Notes géographiques sur le nome Panopolite,” *BIFAO* 4 (1905) : 51.

⁵ Marion Claude, *Akhmîm et la 9e Province de Haute Égypte*, 175.

⁶ S. Z. Balanda, “The title *hrjw- štz*, to the End of the New Kingdom,” *JNES* 45 (2009): 328- 329.

⁷ It is presented on the sarcophagus lid of Djehutj- Mnw, from the cemetery of Hawawish tomb 4; see Yehia El Masry, “The Ptolemaic Cemetery of Akhmim,” *OLA* 194, *Honi soit qui mal y pense : studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*, ed. Hermann Knuf, Christian Leitz und Daniel von Recklinghausen (Leuven ; Paris ; Walpole: Peeters, 2010), 176.

⁸ H. Gauthier, *Les Fêtes du dieu Min*, 63, 64, 183.

⁹ Marion Claude, *Akhmîm et la 9e Province de Haute Égypte Étude de géographie religieuse*, 250.

¹⁰ Ernst Von Bergmann, *Hieroglyphische inschriften Gesammelt Während einer im Winter 1877/ 78, Unternommenen, Reise in Ägypten* (Wien: Faesy and Frick, 1879), LX, col. 1.

¹¹ Penelop Wilson, *A Lexicographical Study of the Ptolemaic Texts in the Temple of Edfu* (Leuven: Peeters publishers, 1997), 307; A. M Blackman and H.W. Fairman “The Significance of the Ceremony *hwt Bḥsw* in the Temple of Horus at Edfu.” *JEA* 35 (1949): 111.

¹² See Papyrus Leiden 344 recto, (12,2). Alan Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian sage from a hieratic papyrus in Leiden (Pap. Leiden 344 recto)*, vol. II (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1969), 82.

bj.t, designating a “character” in the Ptolemaic texts was .¹ The latter meaning greatly fits with the inscribed text on the stela, so the different orthography denotes a colophon. Accordingly, the role of the *šmsw* in this passage is equal to *nb bjȝ.t* that appeared in Edfu.²

f) The deceased identifies herself as a  *šms* “follower” of the god in line 16. This title means that she follows the god’s figure in his festival.³ According to the festival of Min scenes, the *šms.w* are the high dignitaries of the magistrates and of the army who precede the divine procession and escort the divine figure.⁴

f) Mentioning the purpose of placing a stela in the tomb to preserve the deceased’s memory is possibly an inherited Late Period practice.⁵

g)  or  *rmt.w*, basically means “people”⁶. Yet it could also designate the “man of the gang in the place of Truth” or a “servant.”⁷

4- *The Heliopolitan dogma:*

Gods Atum, Osiris, Isis, and Horus are identified as “those of Heliopolis” since the Pyramid Texts 1655a-b, 1248a.⁸ Rehorakhty holds the title  *nb tȝwy Jwn.t*, “the two lands of Heliopolis,”⁹ or *nb tȝwy Jwnwy* “lord of the two lands, the Heliopolitan”; however, the god Atum usually held this title.¹⁰ According to a text from the tomb of Ptahmay,¹¹ Rehorakhty substituted Atum, taking his same titles and attributes.

5- *The solar afterlife cycle:*

The manifested or mentioned gods on this stela are related to the solar cycle:

¹ Penelop Wilson, *A Lexicographical Study of the Ptolemaic Texts in the Temple of Edfu* (Leuven: Peeters publishers, 1997), 307. It means in earlier periods an “oracle”; see George Posener, “Aménémopé 21,13 et bjȝj.t au sens d’oracle,” *ZÄS* 90 (1963): 102.

² Chassinat, Émile, *Le Temple d’Edfu*, *MIFAO* 22, Tome V (Le Caire : Imprimerie de L’Institut Français D’Archéologie Orientale, 1930), 233, 5-6 ; George Posener, “Aménémopé 21,13 et bjȝj.t au sens d’oracle,” 102.

³ H. Gauthier, *Les Fêtes du dieu Min*, 90.

⁴ J. Albert, T and J Allen, *Medinet Habu, Festival Scenes of Ramesses III*, pl. 137.

⁵ Wolfgang Schenkel, “Die Gräber des *Pȝ-tnf-j* und eines Unbekannten in der thebanischen Nekropole,” *MDAIK* 31 (1975): 136- 137, Abb. 6. T 128/ 3.

⁶ Wb 2, 424, 17.

⁷ Jaroslav Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period* (Le Caire: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 2004), 45.

⁸ Kurt Sethe, *Die Altaegyptischen Pyramiden Textes Nach den Papier abdrucken und Photographien des Berliner Berliner Museums*, vol. II (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs’sche Buchhandlung, 1910), 374; Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1969), 247.

⁹ Atum held this title since the New Kingdom, see *The Tomb of Kheruef*, pls 8, 10.

¹⁰ Also, on the Ptolemaic stela of Field Museum of Natural History n^o 31662; see T.George Allen, *Egyptian Stelae in Field Museum of Natural History*, 74.

¹¹ C. Zivie, “À propos de quelques reliefs du Nouvel Empire au musée du Caire : 1. La tombe de Ptahmay à Giza,” *BIFAO* 75 (1975) : 298-300.

a)  *Wsjr- Hnty jmnty*,  *Wsjr* or  *Khenty Imenty* is an eternal form of Re, who comes from Atum¹ belonging to him.²This is evidently declared in BD. 15, where Osiris embodies the sun folk and Rehorakhty.³

The Osiris- Re relation is obviously demonstrated in the 7th hour of the Amduat where he benefits from the sun rays that resurrect him.⁴ This idea is manifested in a libation ritual of the deceased Osiris, where he is resurrected as Re with his water as soon as he reaches his land.⁵ Moreover, he is usually integrated in the Litany of Re, where he oversees granting the deceased life and libation during his voyage to the west with Re.⁶ Furthermore, Osiris is incorporated into the solar cycle where the later rejuvenates the entire world, guaranteeing the continuity of the cycle.⁷

b) Rehorakhty is an aspect of the sun god who rises at the eastern horizon.⁸

c) God Atum is another aspect of the Sun god. He is distinguished with his creating abilities as the first primeval god.⁹ Yet he symbolizes the sun god at his eldest stage.

d) God Shu is apparently integrated in the cycle of Re. He is represented as the captain of the solar bark's crew. Furthermore, he is identified as the son of Re¹⁰ or Re himself. He is, according to the litany of Re, praised in the body of Shu in the Litany of Re.¹¹ The bark of the sun god rests on the figure of Shu.¹²

Paleographical and philological commentary:

Some cursive and hieratic signs  are  integrated in  the hieroglyphic script in lines  is repeated in lines 10, 14, 15, 16,  is repeated twice in line 5,  in lines 6, 10, 12,  in lines 5, 15, 17, in line 6, in

¹ Jan Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete: Übersetzt, kommentiert und eingeleitet, Zweite, verbesserte und erweiterte Auflage OBO* (Freiburg : Universitätsverlag, 1999), 54, 483.

² Hassan S. K. Bakry, "The main elements of the Osiris legend with reference to Plutarch and certain folk-tales," tales," (PhD diss, Durham University, 1955) 85-87.

³ Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (Cairo: The American University Press, 2010), 40.

⁴ Erik Hornung, *Das Amduat Die Schrift Des Verborgenen Raumes Herausgegeben Nach Texten Aus Den Gräbern Des Neuen Reiches*, Teil I (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963), 120; Erik Hornung, *Nacht Und Finsternis*, 54.

⁵ Blackman, “sacramental ideas and usages in ancient Egypt,” *Rec. Trav* 39 (1921): 67.

⁶ Alexandre Piankoff, *The Litany of Re Texts Translated with Commentary* (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964), 100, 160, 148; see the papyri of Tsay-Nefer and Udja-Re.

⁷ Andreas Schweizer, *The Sungod's Journey through the Netherworld Reading the Ancient Egyptian Amduat* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1994), 177-178.

⁸ Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin. New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), 626.

⁹ Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, 71.

¹⁰ The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu, The Eastern High Gateway with Translations of Texts*, vol VIII (Chicago, Illinois: The University Chicago Press, 1970), pl. 610.

¹¹ It is mentioned in the tomb of Nefertary; see Erik Hornung, *Das Buch Der Anbetung Des Re Im Westen*, Teil I (Basel: Aegyptiaca Helvetica, 1974), 18; Teil II (Basel: Aegyptiaca Helvetica, 1976), 63.

¹² The Twelfth hour of the Amduat; see Eric Hornung, *Amduat: The Book of the Hidden Chamber*, 367.

line 14, in line 13,  in line 8,   line 18. Indeed, cursive script appeared in religious texts since the Middle Kingdom.¹ Yet blending two script types together is frequently seen on Ptolemaic stelae,² marking a continuation of 2nd and 3rd Intermediate Period traditions.³ Moreover, the text adopts the tradition of orienting the text rightwards in hieratic script.⁴

Some of the words are split on two lines. For example, the first part of Itens name begins in line 12 and is completed in line 13. The nonuniformity in sign sizes confirms the scribe's attempt to inscribe as much as possible of the various themes in the limited space of the stela.

The name of *Hntyimnty* is inscribed in different ways: Line 1      , Line 2                      

The verb *shd* is inscribed in two different ways:  in line 8 and  in line 9. Moreover, the sign  resembles a *mdw* sign.  *šsp* “grasp”¹. It is probably employed as a colophon of *šsp* “bright”² in line 9.

It is noted that the signs ,  and  are often inscribed as a plain circle . The sign  in line 10 as well as  in the last line are unfinished and are traced as a scratch. In line 15, there is a confusion between the pronouns *tn* and *sn*.

The stela features some grammatical structures, such as:

- In line 16, the prepositional adverb clause  *hr- ntt* that was widely employed in the Middle Kingdom is used here to introduce a new sentence.³ However, this structure was commonly adopted in the Ptolemaic period.⁴
- The relative form *hw=j*, the Late Egyptian relative form, is employed in the stela.⁵
- In line 9, the adverb *tn* precedes the verbal sentence. This structure was employed since the New Kingdom Gebel Barkal stela of Thutmosis III⁶ and the tomb of Eje.⁷
- The structure  preposition+ verb+ suffix at the beginning of line 16 is conventional in New Kingdom texts.⁸

The owner of the stela

The stela helps in tracing the genealogy of the owner *Hr- tzy s-nht*:

$$\begin{array}{c} Hr + Ncy s \\ \downarrow \\ Hr- tzy s-nht \end{array}$$

¹ Penelop Wilson, *A Lexicographical Study of the Ptolemaic Texts in the Temple of Edfu* (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 1997), 1028.

² For the meaning of *šsp* “bright” in the same period, see Émile Chassinat, *Le Temple d’Edfu*, Tome VII (Le Caire: Imprimerie de L’Institut Français D’Archéologie Orientale, 1932), 78, n°6-9.

³ Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), 166- 167; F. L. Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and DêrRifeh* (London: Trubner and Co., 1889), pl. 6.

⁴ Dieter Kurth, *Einführung ins Ptolemäische Eine Grammatik mit Zeichenliste und Übungsstücken*, Teil 2, 960.

⁵ François Neveu, *La langue des Ramsès Grammaire du néo-égyptien* (Paris : Khéops, 1996), 168.

⁶ G. A. Reisner, “Inscribed Monuments from Gebel Barkal,” *ZÄS* 69 (1933): 30, 16.

⁷ N. De G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs Of El Amarna. Tombs of Paennefee, Tutu, And Ay*, part VI (London: Cornell University Library, 1908), pl. XIII, eastern column. *tnw* was frequently employed as interrogative adverb meaning “where”; see François Neveu, *Grammaire*, 303.

⁸ Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, 158. See for example the black granite Stela of Thutmosis III in Karnak, Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden der 18 Dynastie*, vol. IV (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich’sche Buchhandlung, 1906), 624, 5.

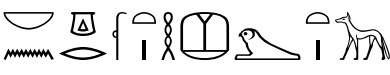
It is noted that only the parents are mentioned, with no allusion to the husband, the children, or the siblings. The possible justification could be due to a lack of space on the stela. Moreover, their mentioning could indicate her pride in them; they probably have occupied a high position in the Akhmimic community.

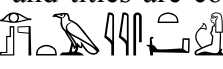
In lines 6, 7,8, and 13, the names and epithets of the deceased and her parents are inscribed. Integrating the titles and epithets among the religious afterlife texts is a prominent feature of the Ptolemaic papyri.¹

The deceased's name and title are:  *Wsjr jhy.t n Mnw Hr-tȝy.s-nḥt mȝꜥ hrw* "Osiris the musician of Min *Hr-tȝy.s-nḥt* justified."²

The owner is allotted various sacerdotal titles:

 *jhy.t Mnw* "The musician of Min." According to Abdelrahman, this title appeared since the New Kingdom and was frequently adopted in the Ptolemaic period.³ Yet, the title *jhy.t* in general was probably known since the 13th dynasty, inscribed on the block statue of Djedhor.⁴ The masculine of this title *Jhy*, also appeared since the New Kingdom on the statue of *Nfr-rnp.t*⁵ and the papyrus of Nu BD. 103.⁶ Yet Wb 1 dates the first appearance of this feminine title to the 22nd dynasty.

 *nb<.t> n hry(.w) ḥb šnbty sȝb* is "the mistress of the lector priests of Horus Shenbety the spotted." The title *hry ḥb* emerged in the Old Kingdom.⁷ *šnbty sȝb* is one of the titles of Horus of Behdet, mentioned in the temple of Edfu.⁸ It is associated to justice in the studied stela, *mȝꜥ hrw* "justified". This aspect is also alluded to in the temple of Edfu as *ḥtp-ḥr mȝꜥ.t* "satisfied with maat."⁹

Her name and titles are completely displayed in lines 6 and 7, while her name is briefly inscribed as  *Wsjr Tȝy.s-nḥt* in line 13 with no further titles or epithets. In line 18, she manifests her official title as the mistress of the lector priests. This trait is often presented on Ptolemaic papyri like P. Bibliotheca Bomberiana 104.¹⁰

The titles and names of her parents occupy the last part of line 7 and the beginning of the 8th. Her father is  *jmj-r ḥs n Mnw Hr mȝꜥ-hrw* "the overseer of the singers of Min." According Gauthier this title appeared uniquely on this stela.¹¹ However, the

¹ Florence Albert, "The Last Books of the Dead, in R. Lucarelli," in *The Oxford Handbook of The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, ed. Rita Lucarelli and Martin A. Stadler (Oxford: Oxford University press, 2023), 146.

² She bears this title also in stelae 22057, 22122; see Kamal, *Catalogue Général*, Tome Premier, 55, 107.

³ This title was frequently inscribed on the Ptolemaic stelae; see Abdelrahman A. Abdelrahman, "The Stela of lady *Tȝ-rp(yt)* in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo," 162.

⁴ See Mohamed Gamal Rashed, "The Block Statue of Djedhor son of Tjanefer (Cairo JE 37200)," *JARCE* 55 (2019): 120, 124.

⁵ Abdul Rahman Al-Ayed, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom* (Ismailia: Obelisk Publications, 2006), 201; Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden der 18 Dynastie*, vol. IV, 1856.

⁶ Gunter Lapp, *The Papyrus of Nu (BM EA 10477)*, *Catalogue of Books of the Dead in the British Museum I* (London: British Museum Press, 1997), pl. 23.

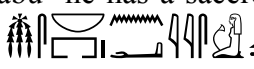
⁷ Dilwyn Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, vol. I (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000), 781.

⁸ Émile Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfu*, Tome VII, 214, 1-3.

⁹ Émile Chassinat, *Le temple d'Edfou*, *MIFAO* 25, Tome VIII (Le Caire : Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1933), 3.

¹⁰ Marc Coenen, "On the Demise of the Book of the Dead in Ptolemaic Thebes," 74, 77.

¹¹ H. Gauthier, *Les Fêtes du dieu Min*, 88.

title *hs* “singer” appeared since the Old Kingdom in the tomb of Ptahhotep.¹ One also notes that the title *jmj-r hs* was employed on the Middle Kingdom 12th dynasty stela (Musée Rodin Inv. no Co1305).² The entire title *jmj-r hs n Mnw* appeared since the 18th dynasty CG 34167.³ His role is to keep the musical beat during the festival of Min. In the scenes of the festival of Min in Medinet Habu⁴ he has a sacerdotal appearance with a shaved head and a long garment.⁵ Her mother is  *ms.t <n> nb(.t) pr Nꜥyꜥ s mꜣꜥ hrw*.

The presence of the name of god Horus in the names of both *Hr-tꜣyꜥ s- nht* and her father *Hr* is an ample indication of the presence of the cult of Horus in Akhmim. Indeed, god Horus was attested on a casket CG 29796 as *hry- jb Jy.t* “who resides in *Jy.t*.”⁶

Conclusion

Although the stela includes some paleographic mistakes, the illustrated version 15g of the Book of the Dead is obvious. Furthermore, a considerable variety of afterlife texts, like the Litany of Re, several chapters of the Book of the Dead, Book of Breathing, and the Book of Traversing are quite interwoven in the text. In contrast, the Heliopolitan dogma as well as the solar cycle are apparently manifested in the compiled group of gods. This quite harmonizes with the illustrated books of the afterlife, especially chapter 15 of the Book of the Dead.

The overall frame and organization of motifs is likely standard, recopied several times on Akhmimic stelae. The common regional traits of linking the gods to the city as well as the aspects of the festival of Min are strongly manifested. Moreover, there is a notable focus on the sacerdotal titles of the deceased and her family, entailing the implicit pride of being close to the local god.

The study of this stela reveals part of the deceased’s family affiliation, focusing principally on her parents. It shows the transfer of a sacerdotal rank from the father *Hr* to the daughter *Hr-tꜣyꜥ s-nht*. Both of them were in the service of god Min, the girl is a musician, and her father is a singer.

The lexicography of some implemented words is different from the other stelae. The word *ꜥk* is employed instead of *dꜥy pt* and *mꜣꜥ* is used instead of *dgꜣ*. The depicted vignette on this stela is also special. The deceased distinctively incarnated Iten on the stela.

Some older aspects are manifested on this stela. The *hꜣp dj nsw* formula follows the Old Kingdom hierarchy. The Old Kingdom paleography of some words, like *sꜥh nꜣr* and the names of the gods is also adopted. The illustrated motifs are copied from the Old Kingdom, the New Kingdom, and the Saitic period. Yet they are sometimes altered on the studied stela. The employed grammatical structure is almost Middle and Late Egyptian. The titles of the different protagonists are almost conventional ones from earlier periods.

The religious and funerary practices and rituals encompassed in the text are conveyed from earlier periods.

¹ J. Quibell, *The Ramesseum and the tomb of Ptah-Hetep* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1898), 23-34.

² Danijela Stefanović — Helmut Satzinger, “An early 12th Dynasty ‘Appeal to the Leaving’ (Stela Musée Rodin Inv. no Co 1305),” *Chronique d’Égypte: Bulletin périodique de la Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth* 89 (2014): 28–33.

³ P. Lacau, 1909. *Stèles du Nouvel Empire, vol. I. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire nos. 34065-34186* (Le Caire : Imprimerie De L’institut Français D’archéologie Orientale, 1909), 206.

⁴ J. Albert, T. J Allen, *Medinet Habu, Festival Scenes of Ramesses III*, Chicago, pls. 97, 200.

⁵ H. Gauthier, *Le Personnel du dieu Min*, 1930.

⁶ Marion Claude, “Le Culte des faucons sacrés dans la IX^e province de Haute Égypte : pratiques rituelles et échanges cultu(r)els,” *Cultes et textes sacrés dans l’Égypte tardive*, ed. Marion Claude, Abraham I, Fernández Pichel (Le Caire : Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 2023), 40.

Figures



Fig. 1a

Ahmed Kamal, *Catalogue Général*, Tome. II, pl. XXI

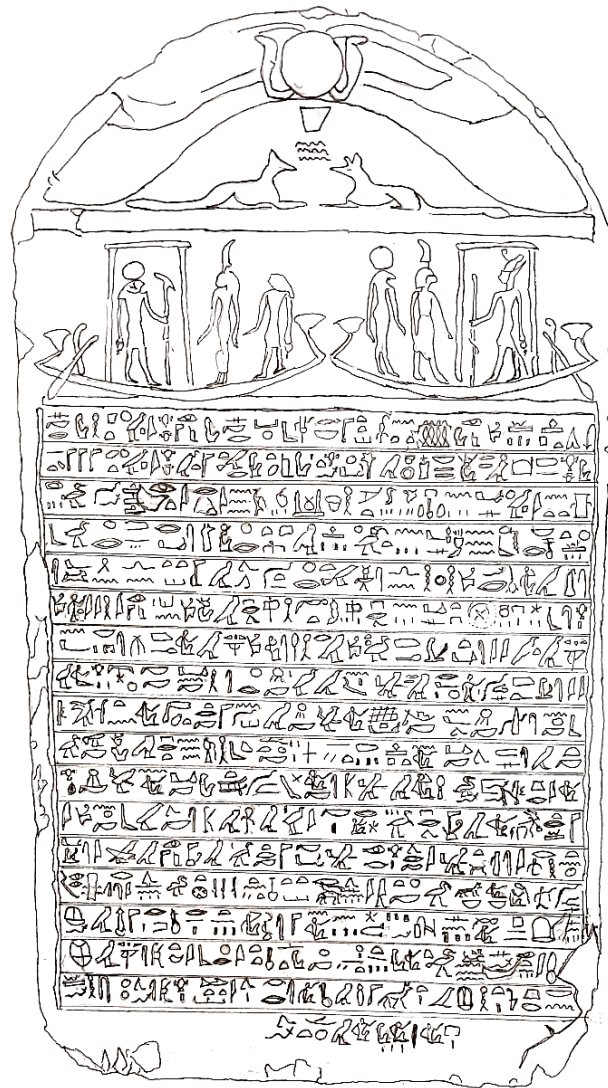


Fig. 1b

Drawing by Inji Adham

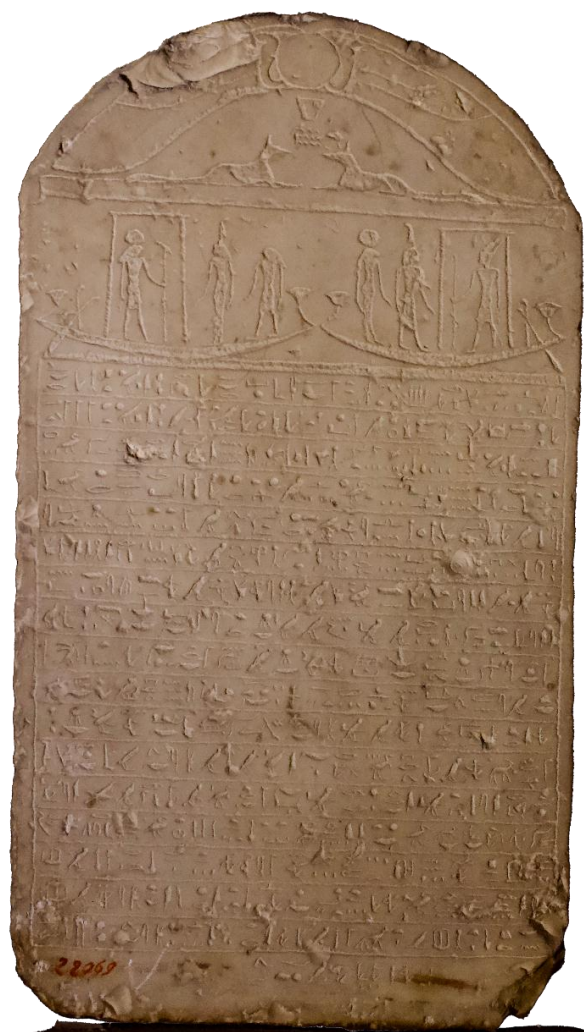


Fig. 1c

Recent photo from Cairo Museum

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